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V Signs, Rubble, Tears of Women

A Palestinian guerrilla, above, arriving on Cyprus by ship from Lebanon, raises his rifle in salute while others give the V sign. At right, guerrillas crossing West Beirut toward the port are driven past a shattered building in the capital. They also were to be taken by ship to Cyprus before leaving for new homes in eight Arab countries throughout the Middle East. Below, Palestinian women remaining in Beirut mourn the departure of the men. Thousands of other guerrillas and Syrian troops are to leave Beirut during an evacuation that is expected to take two weeks.



The Associated Press



The Associated Press

The \$1,000-a-Person Giveaway: Who Wants It?

Alaska's Share-the-Oil-Wealth Program Angers Some and Worries Others

By Jay Mathews
Washington Post Service

ANCHORAGE, Alaska — On this northernmost frontier of American political science, the state government has been sending out a \$1,000 check to every man, woman and child in Alaska. After a month, few of the recipients have even bothered to say thank you.

"I almost feel that I'm on welfare," grumbled Ron Moore, a 36-year-old real estate man from Soldotna. "I've lived here 30 years and I don't see why I should rely on the state for subsistence."

In the state Revenue Department in Juneau, Colleen Brown reported that the givers are not being blessed by the receivers, who only call to complain if their checks have not arrived. "We have received enraged and irate calls from just about everybody," she said. "You've never seen so many greedy people in your life."

So go the early days of Alaska's revolutionary scheme to share part of its oil taxes and royalties with its people, not through new roads or deeper harbors or any of the other pork-barrel projects Washington is familiar with, but with "Permanent Fund dividends." Alaska's experience with the idea so far may frightened away any future leaders elsewhere so bold and so rich as to attempt such generosity.

A political reporter for The Anchorage Times, Ralph Nichols, concluded after many discussions with his fellow Alaskans that "with few exceptions they think it's the dumbest thing in the world, the only thing dumber being not to apply for it as long as they are giving it away."

This philosophy extends to the young and

has been swamped with 1,000 requests a day for certified copies of birth certificates, which are necessary if parents are to claim \$1,000 for each of their children. Any resident's child born up to midnight Oct. 15 may claim a check, prompting speculation that women with babies due about that time will flood maternity wards and induce labor in order to make sure.

So far the Revenue Department has sent out 87,901 checks, each decorated with the state flag, which shows, appropriately enough, the stars forming the Big Dipper. It expects eventually to send a total of \$415 million in checks to the state's 415,000 residents.

Alaskans do not seem quick to spend their new riches. Automobile and snowmobile dealers say there has been little upturn in business. Few charities say they have benefited from the giveaway, though in some cases not for lack of trying.

The Fairbanks Environmental Center asked its members some time ago to donate all or part of their checks to the center, but so far fewer than 10 contributions have come in. The University of Alaska Foundation estimated that it has received between 15 and 20 dividend checks.

Faith in People

Alaskan politicians who conceived the giveaway years ago wanted to demonstrate their faith in the people's ability to decide themselves how their money should be spent, rather than building the usual political pet projects. The Permanent Fund has been created with about 25 percent of the state revenues from the Prudhoe Bay oil fields and other mineral resources. The giveaway checks were to come

in the checks sent out this year were originally due in 1980. But Ron and Patricia Zobel, married lawyers who arrived in the state in 1978, objected to the original plan to distribute payments on a sliding scale — \$50 for newcomers and up to \$1,050 for old-timers. The Zobels successfully sued to stop that plan on the ground that it discriminated unconstitutionally against new residents.

The legislature decided to go ahead and give the same amount to everyone who had been in the state at least six months, adding the dividends that had not been paid since 1980. That brought the payment for everyone this year up to \$1,000.

Ron Zobel said that like many of his fellow Alaskans he was never very happy with the idea of the government's giving away cash. But now that the checks are arriving, the hate mail and threatening phone calls that accompanied his original suit have tapered off.

Under the current plan, Alaskans will each get \$350 in 1983, \$525 in 1984, and then the annual payments will begin increasing again at an unknown rate.

Politicians here worry about what the giveaway will do to the state's relationship with the lower 48 states. They say they fear a vast inflow of the unemployed, who are already a problem because of the widespread and somewhat erroneous impression that Alaska is full

Nearly every politician in the state expects the legislature to change the plan in some way next year. But the Revenue Department's Colleen Brown said "they may find it very hard to get people to give up" the yearly dividend, no matter how ungrateful most have seemed for

Beirut Exodus Begins

392 Palestinians Arrive in Cyprus; 2d Ship Briefly Blocked by Israelis

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIRUT — About 1,000 Palestinians sailed for Cyprus on Sunday, following a contingent of 392 guerrillas who left the Lebanese capital Saturday in the first phase of a two-week evacuation.

For several hours Sunday, Israeli military vessels prevented the Cypriot passenger ship Sol Phryne from leaving Beirut's harbor. Israel claimed that the guerrillas had violated the U.S.-mediated evacuation plan by bringing women, children and weapons other than their personal arms aboard.

Reliable Israeli sources told the Associated Press that the Palestine Liberation Organization guerrillas, who are bound for Tunisia, had taken several crates of rocket-propelled grenade launchers aboard the ship in the 20 jeeps.

But the blockade was lifted after the U.S. ambassador to Israel, Samuel W. Lewis, guaranteed that

the military jeeps would be removed from the vessel in Cyprus, a spokesman for Prime Minister Menachem Begin said in Jerusalem. Israeli radio later reported that the ship had left the harbor.

Israel also complained to Philip C. Habib, the special U.S. envoy, that the guerrillas, mainly members of Yasser Arafat's Fatah faction of the PLO, took aboard 35 women and children dressed in guerrilla uniforms, the sources said.

Israel insists that the identities of the fighters be verified by the Lebanese Army as they board the ships. They say this is the only way they can be sure the PLO is not sending noncombatants disguised as guerrillas out of Beirut while leaving their real force in the city.

"An agreement is an agreement and you neither add to it or subtract from it," said the spokesman

for Mr. Begin, Uri Porat. "Otherwise, what was the point of working so hard to get an agreement?"

Israel also has complained to Mr. Habib about continuing truce violations outside Beirut. The Israeli military command reported the deaths of an Israeli soldier and three PLO guerrillas in central and eastern Lebanon, and warned Syria that it would not tolerate guerrilla raids from behind Syrian lines.

The warning to Damascus followed reports throughout the weekend of continuing reinforcement and maneuvers of Israeli and Syrian forces in the eastern Bekaa Valley.

The evacuation of the estimated 11,500 PLO and Syrian-commanded guerrillas from Beirut, where they had been encircled for about nine weeks by Israeli forces following Israel's June 6 invasion of Lebanon, began Saturday morning.

Two groups of green-uniformed guerrillas, mainly members of the Syrian-commanded Palestine Liberation Army, filed on board armed with their automatic rifles as they were watched by 350 French peace-keeping paratroopers who had arrived nine hours earlier, and soldiers of the Lebanese Army.

With the pride of conquerors rather than the despair of a retreating army, the guerrillas — some in purple berets, some in steel helmets and some in checkered headcloths — assembled in a sports stadium and rode in Lebanese Army trucks to the loading ramps of the ferry Sol Georgios bound for Cyprus.

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Habib's Toughness Was a Key to Beirut Solution

By Leslie Gelb
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — In Saigon in the mid-1960s, Philip C. Habib came to his office as political counselor earlier than his aides, left later, then usually went out for a night of poker. It was known as the highest-stakes game in Vietnam. Mr. Habib was a consistent big winner.

"He was very bold," recalled Barry Zorthian, a government colleague who also played in the game. "He was good at bluffing and even better at calling other guys' bluffs."

In good part, this is what the 62-year-old presidential envoy has been doing in the Middle East for the past 10 weeks. The settlement — the withdrawal of Palestinian and Syrian forces from Beirut, the end of the destruction — bears his name, the Habib plan, and in this city not known for its political generosity, no one begrides him the credit.

His Normal Show

State Department officials in touch with their counterparts in Beirut and Tel Aviv describe the typical evening scene.

It is 2 a.m. in Lebanon. "Phil," as almost everyone calls him, is on

the secure telephone to Washington, shouting. Everyone else in the ambassador's residence is either asleep or drifting off.

"These young guys here don't know how to do any work," Mr. Habib says in his normal shout. "I have to do all the work."

According to officials with access to the transcripts of the telephone calls, the above was often followed by — "Just do what I say. Don't give me a hard time. It's work out."

While experts in Washington were formulating intricate plans for controlling the essential action scheme for linking events there with broader moves in the Middle East, Mr. Habib was said to have stuck to his simple and straightforward goals and strategy.

His goals were to stop the fighting and get Palestinian forces out of Beirut and Lebanon. His strategy was to let all the parties know that the United States meant business.

Those who have worked with him these past weeks were struck by how he readied himself to meet with his interlocutors. "He would gather us around, practice what he was going to say, pump himself up," one recounted. "By the time

he got into the negotiating session, he was sailing. You could see and feel the impression he was making. He spoke with force, conviction and sincerity. It was high theater."

Unmistakable Crayon

Those who read the accounts of his conversations with Arab and Israeli leaders said that his points were always unmistakably clear. To the Lebanese intermediaries with the Palestine Liberation Organization, he would say: "If you don't get the PLO out of the city, the Israelis will come in and get you all, and it will be on your heads." To the Israelis who often told him that his mediation efforts were not working, that there was another alternative — more force — Mr. Habib is quoted as having said: "No. There is no other possibility because it is unacceptable to me."

Mr. Habib often had similar exchanges in the first weeks of the war with Alexander M. Haig Jr., who was then secretary of state. According to administration officials, Mr. Haig strenuously maintained that Mr. Habib's negotiating efforts were "premature," that more Israeli military pressure was required before the PLO would budge in good faith. Mr. Habib,

never known to be less strenuous in advocacy, would reply, in effect, by saying, "You don't know what you're talking about, you're wrong. I'm here. I know what can and can't be done."

About two weeks ago, when the PLO made clear that it was prepared to leave Beirut and when Israeli pounding of the city increased in response to cease-fire violations, Mr. Habib did not hesitate to tell the White House that President Reagan had to get tougher with the Israelis. Mr. Reagan took the point, as he was the only one who told them what they did not want to hear.

In March, 1982, Johnson gathered up a glittering list of former high officials, the Wise Men they were called, to review U.S. policy with the details. He and his team essentially formulated the mechanics of the international peacekeeping force and the PLO withdrawal, down to the countries that would receive the withdrawing troops.

By all accounts, Mr. Habib not only shaped the overall policy, but included in his usual obsession with the details. He and his team essentially formulated the mechanics of the international peacekeeping force and the PLO withdrawal, down to the countries that would receive the withdrawing troops.

His colleagues repeat the same list of adjectives about him: indefatigable, determined, abrasive, irreverent, funny, optimistic, blunt and scatological. Dozens of people in Washington, high and low in government, call him one of their closest friends.

His colleagues like to repeat the few repeatable "Philisms."

"Be patient. I'll take care of you." Said to Foreign Service officers who were getting mauled in their careers by politicians.

"Amateurs." The ultimate Habib put-down, usually reserved for non-Foreign Service officers.

Presidents from Lyndon B. Johnson to Ronald Reagan and secretaries of state from Dean Rusk to George P. Shultz always trusted him, often because he was the only one who told them what they did not want to hear.

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Nobel Sought for Habib

Reuters reported from Washington that Charles H. Percy, an Illinois Republican and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, nominated Mr. Habib for the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in Lebanon.



Philip C. Habib

WORLD BRIEFS

Spending Bill May Face Reagan Veto

WASHINGTON — The Senate has given final approval to a \$14.1-billion supplemental appropriations bill and adjourned for its Labor Day recess knowing that President Reagan might veto the legislation.

The bill, which includes \$350 million in aid to Latin America and the Caribbean, was passed Friday by a voice vote and sent to Mr. Reagan. David A. Stockman, the director of the Office of Management and Budget, has said he will recommend a veto because the bill exceeds Mr. Reagan's instructions by \$918 million in spending for social programs.

Senate Republicans maintain, however, that it provides \$1.9 billion less than Mr. Reagan asked. The House approved the bill last Wednesday.

The measure would permit programs in nearly every federal agency to operate until this fiscal year ends Sept. 30. Several Senate leaders have warned that unless the bill is approved, Mr. Reagan is unlikely to win any financing for his Caribbean aid plan in the current fiscal year.

China to Respect Hong Kong Status

PEKING — An official Chinese magazine said Sunday that the status quo in Hong Kong should be maintained until a peaceful agreement on the British colony's future can be reached.

The English-language weekly *Beijing Review* said, "The Chinese government holds that the issues should be peacefully resolved in an appropriate way when conditions are ripe, and that until then the status quo should be maintained." The article also referred to Macao, which is governed by Portugal.

It said Hong Kong and Macao "will continue to play their due roles" after the problem of their status has been resolved. Diplomatic sources said this indicated that they could retain their present social and economic systems if China takes them over. Britain's 99-year lease on the New Territories, which form 90 percent of Hong Kong's land area, expires on June 30, 1997.

Marcos Hospitalized With Pneumonia

MANILA — Political dissidents rallied Sunday to demand the resignation of President Ferdinand E. Marcos, who was hospitalized with what doctors called mild pneumonia.

Mr. Marcos, 64, checked into a hospital in suburban Quezon on Saturday with chills, fever and a cough, two days after he appeared on national television to deny rumors that his health was failing. A medical bulletin said his condition was improving Sunday, and a presidential spokesman said the ailment was not "likely" to affect Mr. Marcos' plans to visit the United States next month.

About 1,200 protesters denounced Mr. Marcos at a rally Sunday in Quezon and called for his resignation. The rally was held to protest the arrests of two militant labor leaders accused of fomenting revolution.

Peru State of Emergency to Continue

LIMA — President Fernando Belaunde Terry, denouncing terrorism by political extremists, said Sunday a state of emergency would stay in force in Lima until sabotage stopped.

He said, however, he would not impose a curfew in the capital or call on the armed forces.

The state of emergency was imposed in Lima and the adjacent port of Callao after extremists blacked out the city Thursday night and attacked shops and official buildings. Lima has been calm since Thursday night, but newspapers reported continued violence in the interior.

Compiled From Agency Dispatches

U.K. Denies Americans Fought for Argentina

The Associated Press

The Observer said it was unclear what happened to the men afterward.

But it said there were unconfirmed reports they were shot because of their "truculent attitude" and because they took a number of British lives and were believed to have fired on stretcher-bearers carrying the dead and wounded.

A ministry spokesman said the report "just doesn't stand up. We have no knowledge of any incident as reported," he said.

The Observer said the more likely explanation was that the troops were U.S.-trained Anglo-Argentines serving in a crack Argentine unit named Specialist 601.

"There were people like that among prisoners taken, the spokesman said. "They had American accents and because they were a crack regiment they were equipped differently."

The newspaper also said that another explanation is that many of the Argentine defenders on the mount were from the Specialist 601 unit, which probably contained many Anglo-Argentines who might well have been educated as well as trained in the United States.

In a separate report, the Observer said secret Defense Ministry inquiry has revealed that a breakdown in communication between the army and navy that caused a delay of two hours in disembarking Welsh Guards from the landing craft. Sir Galahad may have been responsible for the 55 losses suffered by Britain in the Argentine air attack on Bluff Cove on June 3.

The Defense Ministry spokesman said no such inquiry existed.

U.S. Seeks Secure Lebanon, Solution for the Palestinians

(Continued from Page 1)

Moslem leaders agreed to permit his election. He was forced to back down.

Because of the likely problems ahead, Mr. Shultz and other officials have indicated that the United States intends to proceed with diplomatic initiatives on the broader Palestinian issue while withdrawing of foreign forces from Lebanon remains incomplete.

"There's obviously some connection between them, but they are separate issues," Mr. Shultz said Friday.

If these attitudes persist, Mr. Shultz' ideas are likely to meet strong Israeli resistance. Mr. Shultz, saying he was quoting Mr. Reagan's views, spoke out against expansion of West Bank settlements. But such statements from Washington have done nothing to deter Israeli settlements policy in the past.

Regarding the future of the Palestinian movement, U.S. intelligence is already reporting efforts to create new centers of leadership on the West Bank, in Syria, and the remaining Palestinians, Beirut and elsewhere in the Mideast. The PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat, may find it more difficult to control an even more fragmented Palestinian diaspora.

Some emerging leaders are relatively moderate, but others likely to be radical. Many Arab governments fear radicalization of Palestinians, which is among the reasons for keeping their distance.

Timetable for Beirut Evacuation

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Following is the timetable for the evacuation of Palestinian guerrillas from West Beirut, as provided by the U.S. State Department:

Aug. 21. The advance elements of the multinational force, approximately 350 men, landed at the Port of Beirut and deployed in the port area in preparation for the initial departures of Palestine Liberation Organization personnel.

The Lebanese armed forces deployed to previously agreed positions in Beirut, primarily in the demarcation-line area, to assist in the departure of PLO personnel and take over positions occupied by the Palestinian fighters. As the day proceeded, the forces took other positions to assist in the departure of PLO personnel.

The initial group of PLO personnel assembled in preparation for departure by sea later Saturday or on Sunday.

Aug. 22. All groups destined for Jordan or Iraq to board ship and sail from Beirut.

Duplicating Saturday's operations, PLO groups destined for Tunisia are to have assembled and to have moved to the Port of Beirut for departure by sea.

Aug. 23. All PLO personnel destined for Tunisia to complete their assembly and embark on commercial vessel for Tunisia. PLO personnel destined for Southern Yemen to assemble and move to a vessel for departure then or on Aug. 24.

Aug. 24-25. Assembly and departure by sea of all PLO personnel destined for North Yemen.

There has been speculation that Mr. Arafat plans to establish an office in Tunis, where the Arab League is centered. But Abu Iyad said Friday that "the headquarters of the PLO leadership will be in Damascus." He did not speak in detail as to what the headquarters would include.

Seven of the 15 members of the PLO executive committee live in the Syrian capital. Damascus is also the seat of the organization's parliament in exile, the 300-member Palestine National Council.

This large community, which the PLO depended on as a reservoir for guerrilla recruits, was equal in number to the largest Lebanese Christian community, the Maronite Catholics. At the height of its strength, the PLO had an army of 25,000, 7,000 more than the old Lebanese Army that disintegrated in the civil war in 1976 when Palestinians, Lebanese Moslems and leftists fought the Christian rightists.

One-third of the PLO forces now have to be evacuated from Beirut to other Arab countries within two weeks. The PLO made no issue of the short period fixed for its withdrawal in a plan worked out through the auspices of Philip C. Habib, President Reagan's special Middle East envoy.

"However long we have stayed here, we planted no roots in Lebanon," said the senior PLO officer. "Our roots are in Palestine."

Almost all the guerrillas being withdrawn, including their leaders, came to Lebanon from other Arab countries. Mr. Arafat and his top

From July 5th through August 27th, Monday through Friday, the International Herald Tribune will present the news in English at 10 a.m. on radio station RMC.

Bitter Editorials

In Egyptian circles there is a commitment to the policy of President Hosni Mubarak to press the United States into accepting a new approach toward the Palestinians, specifically trying to move the Reagan administration toward accepting the idea of Palestinian self-determination.

Officials and the press in Cairo have expressed strong disapproval with the role the United States has played during the Israeli invasion that began on June 6. The disaffection ranges from bitter editorials in the government-supervised press to dismay at the press.

His death was announced as

Swaziland is at the center of a crisis over a decision by white-ruled

South Africa to grant 2,100 square miles (3,360 square kilometers)

claimed by the Zulu tribe to the

force already in the port area will have taken up positions on the land route in the Beirut area as necessary to assist in the overland departure of the PLO personnel for Syria. The Lebanese forces join the French in occupying such positions.

(If it should be agreed that these initial groups should go by sea to Syria rather than by land, this departure schedule also is subject to amendment to assure that logistical requirements are met.)

Aug. 26-28 (approximately). The remaining forces of the multinational force, from the United States, France and Italy, arrive in the Beirut area and deploy through the Liaison and Coordinating Committee, which is composed of representatives of the multinational force, participating governments and the Lebanese armed forces. This movement may be accompanied by the transfer of the advance French elements to other locations in the port area.

Aug. 28-29. Completion of the departure to Syria — by land or sea — of all PLO or Palestine Liberation Army personnel destined for Syria.

Sept. 2-3. Assembly and departure by sea of all PLO personnel destined for Sudan.

Assembly and movement by sea of all PLO personnel destined for Algeria.

Sept. 4-21. The multinational force assists the Lebanese Armed Forces in arrangements, as may be agreed between governments concerned, to ensure good and lasting security throughout the area of operation.

Sept. 21-26. Departure of multinational force.

The advance French elements of the multinational

force was apprised of his proposals through intermediaries.

Referring to the evacuation plan, The Egyptian Mail, an English-language newspaper that is normally quite placid editorially, said on Saturday: "Can this be the 'success' that in some absurd manner justifies Lebanon's two and half months of horror? Are those who declare that a solution has been found in the transfer of PLO headquarters-in-exile from one Arab capital to another pulling our legs?"

which was apprised of his proposals through intermediaries.

Other questions center on what the Arab governments will do now in terms of assisting the PLO. There is residual, often strong, resentment among PLO leaders at the inaction of the Arab countries during the siege of West Beirut. But as a pragmatic matter, the Palestinian leaders are now making overtures for Arab support and cooperation in what officials call "the next phase" of the PLO's existence. This includes Egypt, which the Palestinians denounced strongly for the peace treaty it signed with Israel in 1979.

"It was not a clean kind of negotiation," the Palestinian said, referring specifically to Mr. Habib's refusal to deal directly with the PLO.

Sept. 14. Completion of the departure to Syria — by land or sea — of all PLO or Palestine Liberation Army personnel destined for Syria.

Sept. 15-16. Assembly and departure by sea of all PLO personnel destined for Jordan.

Assembly and movement by sea of all PLO personnel destined for Iraq.

Shultz Reviews Policy On Russia With Aides And Outside Experts

By Don Oberdorfer

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Secretary of

State George P. Shultz had a wide-

ranging review of U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union on Saturday with 10 government officials and seven outside experts, including two former secretaries of defense.

Among those attending those attending the meeting, which began about 8 a.m. and lasted through the lunch hour, was Mr. Shultz's Cabinet colleague and former Bechtel Corp. associate, Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger.

The meeting was Mr. Shultz's second largely foreign policy review since he was confirmed as secretary of state on July 15. On July 17, he convened a similar session involving Henry A. Kissinger, the former secretary of state, and two other outsiders as well as government officials. The subject was U.S. policy in the Middle East.

It is likely that additional meetings of this kind will be held to assess other international questions, officials said.

A State Department list of participants suggested that Mr. Shultz initially is seeking advice on policy toward the Soviet Union primarily from establishment conservatives with experience in government.

The only exception on the list was Norman Podhoretz, the editor

of Commentary magazine, who has been outside the government and, at times, outside the Washington consensus.

The other outside participants, according to the list, were Harold Brown and Donald Rumsfeld, former secretaries of defense; Peter G. Peterson, former commerce secretary; Brent Scowcroft, a retired general and former national security adviser; William G. Hyland, a former deputy assistant secretary of state for national security; and Helmut Sonnenfeld, a former State Department counselor.

In addition to Mr. Weinberger, the governmental participants listed by the State Department were James L. Buckley, the State Department counselor; Richard R. Burr, the assistant secretary of state for European affairs; Kenneth W. Dam, the deputy secretary of state-designate; Rear Adm. Jonathan T. Howe, the State Department director of politico-military affairs; Robert C. McFarlane, the deputy national security adviser; Henry S. Rowen, a Central Intelligence Agency official; Walter J. Stossel Jr., the outgoing deputy secretary of state; Allen Wallis, the undersecretary of state-designate for economic affairs; and Paul D. Wolfowitz, the State Department's policy planning director.



Secretary of State George P. Shultz meeting the press last week.

Pentagon 5-Year Plan Aims to Sustain a Conventional War

By Richard Halloran

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Defense Department has begun a five-year, \$100-billion program intended to double and eventually triple the ability of the armed forces to sustain themselves in combat, according to senior departmental officials.

Today, military leaders said, the forces could fight for about 30 days before starting to run out of ammunition, weapons and critical supplies. Moreover, the services lack the planes and particularly the ships to sustain a sufficient flow of supplies to combat zones.

"If we had to go to war this afternoon, even a war the size of Vietnam," said an officer with long combat experience, "I don't see how we could do it."

In a global war with the Soviet Union, several senior officers said in recent conversations, the president might thus be confronted within a month with the choice of surrendering or resorting to nuclear weapons in desperation.

Despite their ambitious plans,

the defense officials doubt that the goals can be reached, because battle consumption rates have skyrocketed and because buying supplies lacks the political appeal of ordering glamorous ships and planes, which visibly create jobs.

2,000 Tons a Day

Recent Pentagon studies show that American forces in World War I consumed an average of 65 tons of material a day; in World War II, that was up to 675 tons; in Vietnam it soared to 1,000 tons. In the Middle East war of 1973, Israel burned up 2,000 tons a day.

About half the consumption in a current war, officers said, would be for mobile forces in armored personnel carriers, tanks and aircraft. Higher rates of fire and the need to replace more weapons cause the increase.

The military officers also pointed out that the British campaign against Argentina over the Falkland Islands required 98 ships just within a month with the choice of surrendering or resorting to nuclear weapons in desperation.

Consequently, administration

officials asserted, the United States must rebuild its stocks of war supplies and refurbish the industrial base to produce the munitions needed to stay in the field against the Soviet Union in prolonged hostilities.

The Defense Department's basic policy on sustaining a conventional war was outlined in Defense Guidance, a classified five-year plan intended to provide strategic direction to the military services. The document said U.S. capability for sustaining combat "should be at least equivalent to that of the Warsaw Pact."

Buildup Ordered

The military services were instructed to build up "a minimum of 60 days of combat sustainability in all theaters and at sea by the end of fiscal year 1987."

But, Defense Guidance said, the objectives are "probably fiscally unattainable" within the next five years. Thus, the services were instructed to set a balanced set of minimum goals that could be achieved.

In addition, the document said,

the industrial base that produces munitions and supplies must be rebuilt, although it did not say specifically how that was to be accomplished.

It said that by 1985, industry should be able to turn out supplies to raise the stockpile of munitions to a 60-day consumption level and other war supplies to a 30-day level within a year. By 1987, it said, industry should be able to raise the munitions stockpile to 90 days and other supplies to 60 days within a year. A 180-day level was the goal by the end of 10 years.

The Reagan administration, since coming to office, has doubled its requests for ammunition. It has also, continuing a move begun by the Carter administration, doubled the capacity of the Military Sealift Command to transport weapons, fuel, food and supplies to the Gulf.

And for airlifts, Congress approved last week, after a bitter political fight, the purchase of 50 new C-5 Galaxy air transports and 44 KC-10 cargo and tanker planes. But it will be five years before all are in service.

Poll in U.S. Finds Lack of Knowledge On Pipeline Stand

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Only half of those questioned in a poll had heard or read of the U.S. effort to block construction of a natural-gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe and only 33 percent of all respondents could describe the U.S. position accurately.

The U.S. stand is supported by 48 percent of Americans familiar with the policy, according to a Gallup Poll released Saturday.

The poll showed opinion divided along partisan lines, with Republicans endorsing the government position 67 percent to 27 percent, and Democrats opposing it, 53 percent to 34 percent.

The questions asked refer to the U.S. refusal to allow the Western European allies to use U.S.-licensed technical equipment in building the pipeline. The main perceived disadvantage of the U.S. position is the damage it has caused in relations with the allies.

Reagan May Pay Price for His Tax Bill Victory

Bipartisan Politics Breed Disaffection Among Some Former Loyalists

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Service

SANTA BARBARA, Calif. — Outwardly, it is a time of triumph for the White House, a time in which the president's men outdo one another in proclaiming the leadership qualities, persuasive powers and economic foresight of Ronald Reagan.

As the opening of the 1982 midterm election campaign approaches, Mr. Reagan is finally basking in the glow of good news on the economic front, potentially the economic recovery that he and those around him have long predicted. Peace seems at hand, at least temporarily, in the Middle East. Mr. Reagan's sharply defined image as a conservative partisan has been blunted by his effective use of coalition politics to achieve an unprecedented victory.

"It's a tremendously important win for him," said James A. Baker 3d, chief of staff and one of the principal architects of the victory. "It moves him into the campaign in a strong position."

Nevertheless, there are signs, as Mr. Reagan settles down on his ranch for two weeks of vacation, that all is not as well with the Reagan White House as it appears on the surface.

Surveys taken for Republican candidates show that Mr. Reagan has lost much of his appeal to the blue-collar voters who flocked to his banner in 1980. An undercurrent of dissension remains in the White House leadership team,

though outward expressions of it are more muted now than they have been in many months. Widespread resignations and changes in the White House staff and Cabinet are anticipated after the Nov. 2 elections.

Most of all, there are nagging worries among otherwise loyal Republicans that Mr. Reagan's tax

NEWS ANALYSIS

bill victory may prove to be a troubling triumph. In embracing tax increases, Mr. Reagan is finally basking in the glow of good news on the economic front, potentially the economic recovery that he and those around him have long predicted. Peace seems at hand, at least temporarily, in the Middle East. Mr. Reagan's sharply defined image as a conservative partisan has been blunted by his effective use of coalition politics to achieve an unprecedented victory.

"Emotionally, they always knew that Ronald Reagan was theirs. Now, they're not so sure," an administration aide said. Even a White House official who is otherwise enthusiastic about Mr. Reagan's victory acknowledges: "A little of the glitter has been tarnished."

The problem is not with Republican conservatives alone.

On Monday the president will fly to Los Angeles to address wealthy Republicans on behalf of the Senate candidacy of Pete Wilson, the former San Diego mayor who is generally considered a moderate.

Mr. Wilson's Democratic opponent, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., in the polls, opposed the tax bill. Gov. Brown favored it. The irony of Mr.

Reagan's position has not been lost among California politicians.

"What does Ron say on the campaign trail?" asked a veteran Republican political operative.

"I'm sure he'll think of something

because he always does. But it's

going to be hard to urge that a Rep-

ublican Congress is needed to put

over the president's program when

all those Democratic congressmen

are waving their little thank-you

notes from the president."

The reference was to the letters that Mr. Reagan, in response to a demand from House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts, promised to write to every congressman who voted for the tax bill.

In fact, the coalition the presi-

dent assembled last week is not

for Mr. Reagan — quite as unusual

or unprecedented as either sup-

porters or opponents of the bill

had maintained.

During his first term as gover-

nor of California, for instance, Mr.

Reagan collaborated with assem-

bly speaker Jesse Unruh, then the

most powerful Democrat in Cali-

fornia, to push through a record

tax bill with many progressive fea-

tures.

A White House official said that

Mr. Reagan has been trying to

practice coalition politics this year,

too, ever since he brought together

the congressional leaders of what

he called "the Gang of 17" in an

unsuccessful effort to work out a

budget compromise earlier this

year. The irony of Mr.

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lost among California politicians.

"What does Ron say on the cam-

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are waving their little thank-you

notes from the president."

official added, was that it was the first time the House Democratic leadership responded.

What is really different this time is the extent of the Republican defec-

tion, which includes 89 House mem-

bers, some prominent candi-

dates like Mr. Wilson and almost

every important conservative orga-

nization in the country.

Whatever the problems with the

conservatives, the White House

leadership argues that the

pluses in Mr. Reagan's victory far

outweigh any minuses.

They point out that Mr. Reagan is seen as a decisive leader even by

many who oppose his policies and

that he reinforced that image by

winning the tax bill fight. They say

that he has shown he puts country

above party, a quality that most

Americans want in their presi-

dent.

Ultimately, the political wisdom of Mr. Reagan's coalition course is likely to be determined outside Washington — on Wall Street and in the economically hard-hit Northeast and Midwest states whose congressional delegations overwhelmingly supported the tax bill.

The White House is openly tak-

ing credit for last week's stock

market rise and interest rate

downswing — and Mr. Reagan is

certain to get the blame if the mar-

ket collapses and interest rates

start moving up again.

U.S.-Soviet Grain Pact Is Applauded by Block

By David Hoffman

Washington Post Service

Mr. Block, who had lobbied hard within the administration for another one-year extension, said Friday that the Kremlin's acceptance "will allow America's farmers to continue rebuilding this important market, which was thrown away to our competitors during the partial embargo imposed on U.S. agricultural sales to the Soviet Union in January, 1980."

The agreement obligates Moscow to buy 6 million metric tons of grain annually and allows it to purchase up to 8 million additional tons without permission from the United States.

While taking a hard line against the Soviet Union because of the crackdown in Poland, the Reagan administration has

INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

A First Step in Beirut...

From THE WASHINGTON POST

The beginning of the departure of the whole Beirut PLO apparatus from Lebanon represents in the first instance the freeing of a captive city from two months of terror. The PLO made the city an involuntary battlefield; Israeli guns did most of the damage to it; a deadly "partnership." Its ending will give the long-suffering and immensely resourceful Lebanese the opportunity to start restoring the life that had made Beirut the most engaging and lively city in the Arab world. All those who are in a position to help the Lebanese in reconstruction — not just in Beirut but in the countryside — should turn promptly and generously to the task.

"Departure Day," as it is formally called in the plan ending the Beirut siege, is also a signal event in the life of Lebanon. It means, evidently, the beginning of the end of the hostile foreign occupation force that the PLO has been for nearly a decade. The removal of the PLO leaves two other foreign armies on Lebanese soil, Syria's and Israel's. Fortunately there seems to be a widespread determination to remove them, in time, as well. If that is done, Lebanon will be faced with the challenge of running its own affairs — that has proved exceptionally burdensome in the past. An early test of Lebanon's capacity for harnessing its disparate Christian and Moslem communities may come as soon as today, when the parliament is scheduled to select a new president. The one announced candidate, the Christian leader Bashir Gemayel, has in effect campaigned for Moslem support or at least tolerance by keeping at arm's length from his erstwhile Israeli patrons during Israel's most recent invasion.

The PLO could hardly have been expected to accept the ignominy of a forced departure and loss of its single military platform without seeking some political cover. This it has done by parading its endurance in battle and its intent to continue its struggle. To which responsible people can say: If you continue your struggle, it must be by political means — find a political course that is reasonable and realistic. Whether the PLO can hold together in the conditions of its new dispersion and speak effectively for its constituency and cause remains to be seen. So far, for instance, it has not even managed to address the question of the awful agony it inflicted on its Lebanese hosts. That should come even before the question of accepting Israel.

For Israel, in turn, must come the question

of putting into effect the commitments to the Palestinians that it accepted at Camp David. There is a bruised, almost defiant tone to many Israeli pronouncements these days, in part perhaps a reaction to foreign criticism of its Lebanese operation.

The fact is, however, that most other countries have endorsed at least implicitly some though not all of Israel's purposes in Lebanon: to secure Israel's border, to rout the PLO, to restore Lebanon. Israel is a lot less isolated than it may feel at the moment. Its friends, especially the United States, must point this out to Israel by way of obtaining its cooperation in the difficult diplomatic stages to follow. The decimation of the PLO as a fighting force has a special meaning here. The Begin government may be tempted to see it as opening the way to full Israeli absorption of the West Bank. Others will see it, correctly, as reducing the risk for Israel in walking the Camp David path further.

On the United States inevitably falls its own mission of leadership. One part of it has already been discharged with consummate skill by Philip Habib, who arranged the departure process that got under way Saturday. It is largely thanks to him that a role for American troops has been found that is at once useful, giving American diplomacy a place in subsequent phases, and limited, arousing minimal resistance at home. The French and Italians are also participating responsibly in the multinational force overseeing the PLO's evacuation from Beirut.

The president and his new secretary of state have been moving cautiously but steadily and saying the right things. Mr. Shultz has secured new commitments from Israel's and Syria's foreign ministers promising the withdrawal of their countries' armies from Lebanon. These pledges do not end all danger of an Israeli-Syrian partition or condominium but they point in the right direction.

Mr. Reagan has confirmed his intent to stay true to his predecessor's Camp David promise to try to resolve the Palestinian issue "in all its aspects." This falls short of the immediate American endorsement of Palestinian "self-determination" that Egyptian President Mubarak is urging. Still, the important thing is that the United States, with its friends, sees the opportunities the Israeli invasion has created for treating in a careful, deliberate and unflinching way the root cause of the Arab-Israeli dispute.

... and the Next Goal

From THE NEW YORK TIMES

Philip Habib surely deserves the good night's sleep that Secretary Shultz prescribed for him, and far more. But it cannot be enough for the PLO finally to pull out of Beirut. All the foreign armies must soon be induced to pull out of all of Lebanon. There are other, larger goals for American policy in the Middle East, but until the outsiders leave it will be hard to pursue any of them. If it is inhuman to expect more from Habib, President Reagan must quickly find another master negotiator.

Israel has paid heavily as its war aims widened. No doubt there is hypocrisy in condemnation of Israeli violence on the part of countries that have been mute about PLO violence. Israelis must read with exquisite interest that some West German newspapers describe their invasion as a "war of extermination." Nonetheless, there is world anguish over the civilian casualties, anguish that has not yet exacted its full political price.

Whatever the extenuating arguments, Israel said initially that its forces would advance only 25 miles into southern Lebanon. Now they are virtually all over Lebanon. The longer they stay, the closer their alliance with the Maronite Christian forces becomes. And the closer that bond, the harder it will be to settle the older, deeper problem, the intramural Lebanon problem.

Though Lebanon is predominantly Moslem, even its Moslem population consists

of different factions. Though the Maronites are the largest group among the Christian minority, there are also Armenian and Greek Orthodox Christians. And even the Maronites are divided by clans, maintaining separate private armies.

If an acceptable neutral state and army could be established, the Israelis and Syrians would have a lot less at risk and might be coaxed into leaving. That is one reason for the United States to press ahead quickly with negotiations.

There is a second reason: the need to find a way to meet the permanent aspirations of the Palestinians. The PLO may be leaving, but until the foreign soldiers are gone, progress on this larger Palestinian question will probably be impossible. Shultz may hope for movement through revival of the Camp David autonomy talks. Yet even if Israel is willing to talk, while Lebanon remains in fragments, Egypt has already said it is not.

Getting the foreign troops out will require intense attention and the diplomacy of Habib or an equally adept successor. The obvious, appealing vehicle for such diplomacy is relief. There is blame enough to go around for its misery. Arabs and Israelis, Europeans and Americans should all share in a massive reconstruction effort. That effort cannot only rebuild homes but also provide the basis for rebuilding a viable Lebanese government — and sending all the foreign troops home.

Other Editorial Opinion

U.S. Nuclear Policy

Not for the first time, President Reagan's Washington has succeeded in simultaneously frightening and confusing friends and enemies alike over the future direction of America's nuclear policy.

If the Reagan administration is seriously intent on encouraging a belief that nuclear war can be won, then it is on treacherous ground. Both America and Russia already have excessively large nuclear arsenals. To suggest that by adding to those arsenals a position can be created whereby victory is assured, is madness.

Obviously the clock cannot be turned back to a pre-nuclear period. What is needed is not

— The Telegraph (London).

AUG. 23: FROM OUR PAGES 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1907: Filipino Unrest

PARIS — Today's editorial in the Herald reads: "Some uneasiness has been created in Manila by the flaunting of the revolutionary flag in native gatherings and processions of late. This uneasiness is not altogether groundless. The Filipinos are a somewhat excitable race with an overwhelming idea of their own capabilities and a rudimentary respect for law and order. It would be the height of imprudence for the American authorities to wink at the recurring display of seditionist emblems and to permit the Independista demagogue to indulge in inflammatory harangues. A meeting of American residents has been called to devise a way of combating the thinly veiled revolutionary movement."

— The Telegraph (London).

1932: Hitler's Policy

PARIS — Today's editorial in the Herald reads: "The announcement of a Hitler foreign policy to be based upon racial armenies, with propaganda in Holland and Scandinavia as a prelude to it, will be received as a decidedly amusing item of news. The anti-Semitic aspect of Hitlerism has been duly discounted in Germany by Nazi leaders as an appeal for votes to a medieval-minded peasant. The 'Aryanism' of the movement is still safer, because the term is so elastic that if it means anything linguistically it means nothing racially. A scientific survey of the German Nazis would almost certainly exclude Herr Hitler himself from the company of the Nietzschean-clerk."

JOHN HAY WHITNEY (1904-1982), Chairman

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The Case for 'Hardheaded' Détente

By Richard M. Nixon

First of two articles.

NEW YORK — Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson of France said recently that the United States and its Western European allies were moving ominously toward a "progressive divorce," explaining that, "We no longer speak the same language." Mr. Cheysson was specifically addressing the dispute over the Soviet pipeline, but his fundamental point was both profound and troubling.

There are sharp differences over how the West should deal with the Soviet Union. Ironically, those real differences are clouded by widely differing perceptions of one French word borrowed by Americans: détente.

The debate over détente has become so charged with emotion that substance gives way to semantics.

To many Americans, détente has become a dirty word, virtually synonymous with appeasement. To most Europeans, it is a good word. To them it describes a period in the early and middle 1970s when tensions between East and West were lessened and when there was more trade, more contact, some liberalization in Eastern Europe, and, above all, a reduced danger of nuclear war.

American critics of détente, by contrast, look with horror at all the Soviet advances of the last decade. They see Soviet attainment of superiority in land-based nuclear weapons, an extension of Soviet domination over Southeast Asia, Angola, Ethiopia, Yemen, invasions into Latin America, the brutal oppression of Afghanistan and the cruel snuffing out

of Poland's flickers of freedom. This, they say, proves détente a costly failure.

They argue, correctly, that the Soviet leaders lie, cheat, steal and are out to impose their oppressive system on the whole world, and from this conclude that the only safe course is to restore U.S. nuclear superiority, cut back contacts and attempt to strangle the Soviet Union economically.

This argument misses the point of détente: it misreads history and it would deprive the West of some of our most potent weapons in the East-West struggle.

The failure was not of détente but rather of the management of détente by U.S. policy-makers.

First, let us be clear about what détente is and is not. There are two concepts of détente, which I call hardheaded and softheaded.

Softheaded détente — the willowy, handwringing, flower-power kind — is not a policy at all, in the sense that a policy is a formula for the use of power. When I speak of détente I mean the hardheaded kind: détente with deterrence. This is based on a strength of arms and strength of will sufficient to blunt the threat of Soviet blackmail, combined with a mixture of prospective rewards for good behavior and penalties for bad behavior that gives the Soviet Union a real incentive for moderation. Softheaded détente — appeasement in disguise — invites Soviet expansion by reducing its cost. Hardheaded détente raises the cost of adventurism and thus en-

courages the Russians to negotiate.

As we practiced it in the early 1970s, this hardheaded détente worked. During that period, no one nation was lost to the Soviet bloc. Under pressure from us, the Soviet Union retreated from its attempt to establish a nuclear submarine base at Cienfuegos in Cuba; it backed away from its support of India's attempt to gobble up West Pakistan, it abandoned its threat to send Soviet forces into the Middle East during the Arab-Israeli war of 1973.

On May 8, 1972, on the eve of my first summit meeting with then-General Secretary Brezhnev, I ordered the bombing and mining of Haiphong, in North Vietnam. Those who did not understand hardheaded détente thought it would torpedo the summit. They were wrong. It strengthened my hand and helped pave the way for a broad range of agreements. This hardheaded détente is not a love affair. It does not mean that we and the Soviet Union agree. Rather, it means that we profoundly disagree. What it provides is a means of peacefully resolving those disagreements that can be resolved, and of living with those that cannot.

I have had more extensive personal dealing with the top Soviet leadership than any other American president. Mr. Brezhnev and I held three summit meetings — in 1972, 1973 and 1974. He and I regularly clinked champagne glasses to celebrate agreements. We smiled at one another in public. We became, at times, quite

cordial in private. But we also bargained hard, and neither of us expected the other to give up anything of substance out of sheer good will. We recognized that our two countries were locked in competition, and each of us was determined to protect his own country's interests, which made it mutually advantageous for us to compromise or otherwise resolve an increasing range of our competing interests.

Our central common interest was to ensure that our differences did not lead us into a shooting war. With tragic frequency, wars result from miscalculation. We were able to reduce that danger.

Many critics of détente tend to regard U.S.-Soviet relations as a zero-sum exercise: to suppose that a gain for one can be achieved only at the expense of the other. But this is not so. Properly conceived and balanced arms limitations can benefit both sides. Expansion of trade, on a strictly nonsubsidized, businesslike basis, can benefit both sides. Preventing war through miscalculation can benefit both sides.

From the U.S. standpoint, détente has an added advantage: It is a means not only of avoiding armed conflict but also of engaging the Soviet Union in those fields in which the United States has an overwhelming advantage.

Whether or not we agree with Clausewitz that war is the carrying on of political relations by other means, in a nuclear age the two principal competing powers must channel their competition into other means.

Détente is a means of broadening the competition: expanding contacts, opening the way to Western ideas and Western influence, creating a web of economic interdependence that raise the cost to the Soviet Union of stepping beyond the bounds of acceptable behavior. Those critics who would have us scuttle détente and return to narrow confrontation are urging a form of unilateral disarmament. They would deprive us of many of our most effective diplomatic weapons.

The Soviet Union has desperate economic problems. Looking at these, some analysts argue that if we just squeeze the Russians economically the regime will collapse and will be replaced by a less oppressive one. This misreads history, and it misreads the nature of the Soviet dictatorship. Squeezing Russia economically did not work when the Communists first came to power, when their problems were far worse, and it would not work now. Rather than decreasing repression, it would increase it. An oppressive dictatorship is strengthened, not weakened by external confrontation.

Cardinal Rule

This does not mean that we should do nothing when the Russians resort to actions that threaten our interests. It does mean that if we do have significant economic relations with them, we may be able to act effectively. A cardinal rule of diplomacy is that you can't get something from your adversary unless you have something to give or something to take.

In the broader context of détente with an intricate mixture of both positive and negative incentives, the Soviet Union will respond. As it did in the early 1970s, it will moderate its behavior.

The West must restore the nuclear military balance so that it will not be subject to Soviet nuclear blackmail.

We must re-establish a credible link between trade in those items the Soviet Union wants and the general patterns of Soviet behavior.

The practice of annual U.S.-Soviet summit meetings should also be resumed. These increase the chance that agreements can be reached, by increasing the pressure on lower-level officials to narrow differences before the annual deadline. But even when nothing of importance is agreed to, regular summits serve two valuable purposes. First, when the leaders of the two major powers know each other, the possibility of war by miscalculation is reduced. And second, the very fact that a summit is approaching tends to inhibit the Soviet Union from engaging in adventurous practices beforehand.

We can call this peaceful competition. We can call it waging a struggle by nonmilitary means. We can call it détente. Whatever we call it, it is better than the alternatives of either general confrontation or nuclear conflict.

Tuesday: The Soviet gas pipeline dispute.

The New York Times

LETTER

Help the Russians

Regarding "Defining the Pipeline Arguments" (HT, Aug. 15). Mr. Satre forgot to mention the most important argument in favor of the gas pipeline project:

Since the mid-1970s it has become increasingly clear that the Soviet Union's energy development program is in danger of losing its struggle against time. Huge deposits of oil, gas and coal in northern Siberia have to be made accessible under extremely difficult climatic and topographical conditions while energy production west of the Urals is rapidly declining.

Many analysts have predicted that the 1990s will see an increasing gap between COMECON energy demand and Soviet energy supply. Consequently, the Soviet Union and its satellites will have to turn to the world market and become energy importers.

Since it is highly improbable that the Russians will be able to raise enough hard currency to purchase the necessary OPEC oil, they will have to turn to other means such as trading huge arsenals of tanks and combat aircraft for oil and inducing energy-rich Gulf countries to provide oil at favorable conditions by means of political and military pressure, or even direct military intervention.

The best way to avoid a situation where serious energy shortages might induce the Kremlin to risk military intervention in the Gulf area is to assist the Soviet Union in its Siberian energy programs.

MICHAEL BAXTER

Can Mexico Keep Citizens Calm?

By Ronald Buchanan

Now they will probably return to the tougher, lower-paid work on the land.

Some will drift back into the peasant society, while others will almost certainly head for the United States.

The prospect is not a comforting one, for these are people who had to get accustomed to a higher standard of living and to having hope in an even better future.

Bankers and economists are sure, though, that there will be no easy or early return to the boom years. "I foresee at least three years of hardship for many Mexicans," said an international banker based here.

He added: "The big question is whether this can translate into social unrest. For me, inflation is going to be the key."

Divided and Frustrated, Namibians Are Skeptical of Independence Talks in N.Y.

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Service

WINDHOEK, South-West Africa — Within the rim of other hills that contain South-West Africa's capital, there are many who claim to speak for one constituency or another, but none who have a direct voice in the talks under way in New York on their future and on the fate of this and territory.

Resentment at the exclusion of the white minority from the political process with frustration, apprehension and prognostications of impending doom while half a world away, Western negotiators at New York seek to design a process to end South Africa's domination of South-West Africa, half in 16-year-old guerrilla war and half in independence as majority-ruled Namibia.

Yet, particularly among the Pintos against them is the insure South-West Africa Peoples

75,000 whites, the ideas and alternatives being sought to reassure a grip on their own destiny — expressed through such terms as "internal settlement" and "unilateral declaration of independence" — seem certain to further distance those whose voices go unheeded from those the whites need to influence.

Prism of History

And, through the prism of recent history, the whites' putative solutions are of the same mold as other attempts elsewhere that were designed to prolong minority influence under the mantle of democracy.

At a recent count, there were 45 political groups in South-West Africa, widely known as Namibia.

Pintos against them is the insure South-West Africa Peoples

Organization, or SWAPO, which is led by Sam Nujoma and is fighting a low-key guerrilla campaign from bases in southern Angola against South African dominance of the territory's economic, military and political life.

The insurgents are represented at the negotiations in New York, where the United States, Britain, Canada, France and West Germany are seeking a settlement that will enable the United Nations to supervise a cease-fire and elections for this former German colony and so bring independence.

There is, however, widespread skepticism among political groups here about whether the talks will succeed, and many have directed their thoughts at alternatives to an internationally orchestrated settlement.

"People are very pessimistic

about a solution," said Dr. Ben Africa, a man of mixed race who belongs to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. This group, based on 11 separate ethnic and racial groups, came to be the nominal government of the territory through elections in 1978. But the elections won no international recognition because they were supervised by South Africa, did not include the insurgents and were based on racial separation.

Among the options he listed were the formation of a "government of national unity" among the territory's fractured groups and, "very much as a last resort," a unilateral declaration of independence, the mechanism by which the whites of what was then Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, sought to stem black nationalism in 1965.

The chairman of the Council of

Ministers drawn from the alliance, a white rancher named Dirk F. Mudge, voiced anger that "only SWAPO is consulted" at the New York negotiations. He said he still hoped for an internationally blessed settlement, but should the talks collapse, then the "people of the country" should "come together and decide what they want."

Fight to the Bitter End

Jannie de Wet, a leader of the National Party, which speaks for the Afrikaner majority among the territory's fractured groups and so bring independence.

The idea of any dilution of total

white power might seem doubtful to some Afrikaners, so Mr. de Wet's proposal could be interpreted as a concession to the pressures for majority rule, but not one that approaches the demands of either the insurgents or the Western

negotiators.

A victory by the insurgents, he said, would bring "chaos, bloodshed, poverty, hunger and

thirst," and Namibia, much of it desert, would become "the poorest country in Africa."

In this analysis an alternative

must be found that would "safe-

guard minority rights," a term that has been used elsewhere in Africa as the code for continued white influence in the rear-guard actions against majority rule.

Such utterances have been fre-

quent in African countries before

independence that nonetheless

have maintained a white presence

under black rule.

Common to thoughts of an in-

ternal settlement is the acknowl-

edgment that it could only be

fostered under protection of the South African Army. That, in it-

self, would probably further the in-

dependence cause.

"SWAPO is seen as good be-

cause it opposes South Africa,

which represents everything bad."

Mr. de Wet said he put his "in-

ternal-solution" plan to the negoti-

ators recently, but was rejected. He

predicts that there will be a mass

exodus of whites with their money

and skills because "they will not be

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Some of the other tribal and racial groups not included under Mr. Nujoma's banner, Mrs. Abrahams said, are being armed under a conscription system in South-West Africa.

In her analysis, which seems as pessimistic as most in Windhoek, "Namibia will be right for destabilization" whoever wins.

Critics in Turkey Warn New Draft Constitution Allows for Repression

By Hugh Carnegy
Reuters

ANKARA — A clamorous and sometimes acrimonious debate is going on in Turkey over a draft constitution published as the blueprint for the country's return to democracy.

The 200-article charter has been widely criticized as envisaging a potentially repressive system ruled by a powerful president and as being too long and poorly thought out.

But time is not on the side of those who want major changes. The military-appointed National Consultative Assembly overwhelmingly approved the draft in principle last week despite many criticisms. Members appeared to realize that a rejection could set back the military regime's promise to hold elections for a new government by the first half of 1984.

Reform in November

The assembly will debate the document article by article, but it must produce a final version in time for a national referendum on the constitution in November.

Diplomats and political commentators say that for this reason the draft's central elements will almost certainly remain intact until, though some parts may be revised or even dropped.

The draft was drawn up by a 15-member Constitutional Commission chaired by Orhan Aldikaci, a law professor. Political and diplomatic sources say the commission was not pressured by the regime.

The constitution would replace one imposed after a military coup in 1961 that set up a bicameral parliament with a largely ceremonial president. That constitution was abolished after the coup that brought the military to power in September 1980.

Presidential Powers

The draft provides for an executive president as head of state. He would be elected to a five-year term by universal suffrage.

The president would appoint the assembly to draw up a new constitution.

The draft also envisages a state consultative council appointed

mainly by the president. That body would advise him and a national security council as a kind of inner cabinet. It would include senior military figures whose recommendations would be binding.

Under the draft, personal rights and freedoms and press freedoms could be suspended to protect the integrity of the state.

Cuts on Parties

Political parties based on Communism, fascism, religion or any form of dictatorship would be banned, and trade unions would be barred from taking part in political activity.

When it was first published in July, the draft drew hostile comment from newspaper columnists. Thirteen of the 15 Constitutional Committee members said they were dissatisfied with it, and Consultative Assembly members expressed anger over a newspaper report quoting Mr. Aldikaci as saying that all those who criticized the document were ignorant.

He denied the statement, but the newspaper insisted that he had made it. Several politicians said the comment showed that they were being forced to accept a constitution that they said placed no trust in the people.

Critics also said the draft placed potentially repressive restrictions on personal freedom, gave too much power to the president and was dangerously confused about the interaction of the various bodies it envisaged.

Vagrancy Provision Assailed

They also assailed it for its meaning those without a regular home or source of income, as many as five million people could be imprisoned.

But many members of the assembly expressed general support for the draft, saying it envisaged a strong government that would prevent a return to the days before the military coup. During the early part of 1980, as many as 25 people were dying daily in political violence.

Leftist sources said the draft could cause more violent upheaval in the future.

Official's Warning

Another 1,000 people watched the scene from the sidewalks. Police checked documents of some passers-by, but there were no incidents and there were no reports of arrests or detentions.

Also on Saturday, a Polish deputy

also asserted that the martial-law regime will confront domestic opposition with "nerves of steel," as authorities intensified their campaign to dislodge Poles



A crowd gathers around a floral cross in Warsaw's Castle Square. It is one of two crosses that were set up after authorities objected to protests held around another one in Victory Square.

Riot Police Disperse Warsaw Crowd Demonstrating at New Floral Cross

The Associated Press

WARSAW — Riot police threatening to spray a water cannon dispersed several hundred people who had gathered peacefully Saturday night on Warsaw's Castle Square, the outskirts of the city's Old Town.

The protesters were gathered at a 20-foot floral cross built earlier in the evening. They were just a few blocks from Warsaw's Victory Square, which had been the main protest gathering place until Friday, when authorities sealed it off to the public with a wooden fence.

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There are no incidents and there were no reports of arrests or detentions.

Also on Saturday, a Polish deputy asserted that the government had disputed some of the facts in a dispatch reporting mistreatment of inmates at a detention center in northern Poland on April 14.

Spadolini Plans to Present List of Ministers on Monday

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ROME — Premier-designate Giovanni Spadolini said Saturday that he would give President Sandro Pertini on Monday a list of proposed Cabinet ministers for Italy's 42d government since World War II.

The list of ministers to replace Mr. Spadolini's previous coalition Cabinet, which collapsed earlier this month, is expected to go to parliament by midweek for the required vote of confidence.

Meets Party Leaders

The announcement was made as Mr. Spadolini, leader of the small Republican Party, ended two weeks of consultations with political leaders on economic and institutional reforms and finally won the Socialist Party's agreement to a new coalition.

The Portuguese press in general retains the Marxist-imposed structure. The news media were grouped into public companies, each with several publications. Of the 70 daily newspapers in Portugal, only six are privately owned.

The new agency, to be called Noticias de Portugal, would have a staff of 123 and a first-year budget of \$2,142,000.

The campaign to close ANOP started about a month ago. It was led by Jose Afonso, secretary of state for social communications, who is Portugal's chief of press radio and television.

Mr. Afonso said that the agency was overstuffed with 259 employees, that it was a heavy money-loser, that it distorted the news and that it retained Communist influence from the days when it was created by the Marxist government that came to power in 1975 after the Portuguese revolution.

Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, the Vatican's secretary of state, says letters of patronage from the Vatican bank to the late president of the collapsed Banco Ambrosiano did not necessarily imply full-scale guarantees.

Cardinal Casaroli made the statement in an interview appearing in Monday's issue of the weekly newsmagazine L'Espresso; the publishers released the interview

about a solution," said Dr. Ben Africa, a man of mixed race who belongs to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. This group, based on 11 separate ethnic and racial groups, came to be the nominal government of the territory through elections in 1978. But the elections won no international recognition because they were supervised by South Africa, did not include the insurgents and were based on racial separation.

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Brazilians Raze Their Historic Homes



João Carlos Martins, secretary of culture in the Brazilian state of São Paulo, outside a once-ornate house destroyed on instructions of its owner before it could be declared a historical site.

Agency Cites Rise in Third World In Smoking and Related Illnesses

The Associated Press
GENEVA — World Health Organization officials are growing concerned about the spread in the Third World of what the agency calls the "smoking epidemic."

Statistical evidence is mounting at WHO headquarters here that a steady increase in cigarette smoking in developing countries is accompanied by soaring rates of lung cancer and cardiovascular diseases.

The statistics, which WHO officials acknowledge are incomplete, suggest that tobacco use has been growing by 5 percent annually in the Third World in recent years, while it has slowed in the West.

Experts blame the trend at least partly on what they charge is aggressive sales promotion by Western cigarette manufacturers looking for new markets.

The International Union Against Cancer, also based in Geneva, says that tobacco manufacturers subject "developing coun-

tries to many of the most cynical and discredited forms of advertising that are no longer acceptable in most Western countries."

In Malaysia, for example, each brand of tobacco has its own sport. In Kenya, cigarette advertising is banned on television, but mobile cinemas that travel the country show tobacco advertisements along with films.

In response to the aggressive promotion tactics by the major cigarette manufacturers, a paper on a recent regional WHO-sponsored meeting in Swaziland urged Third World governments to take measures "to avoid relearning the lessons of the industrial world."

An independent report, cited by WHO, claims that tar yields of four brands of cigarettes sold in developing countries have higher nicotine and tar contents than the same brands sold in the West.

The report, cited by WHO, claims that tar yields of four brands of cigarettes sold in the Philippines are twice those of the same brands marketed in the United States, Britain and Australia.

In some countries, growth of cigarette smoking has been spectacular. Sales in Thailand, for example, increased by 50 percent between 1970 and 1977, with one person in five older than 10 smoking. One-fifth of the average income there is spent on cigarettes.

In India, cigarette smoking has gone up by 90 percent in 20 years. In Pakistan, it has increased by 60 percent in 10 years, and in Sri Lanka, it is increasing by 8 percent each year, according to WHO surveys. In Bangladesh, 71 percent of the men and 20 percent of the women in "lower socioeconomic groups" smoke, according to one of the surveys.

Lung cancer is now the most common type of cancer among men in the Philippines, and it is slowly increasing among women. In Pakistan, it jumped in four years from fourth to first place in a list of the most often observed malignant growths.

Mr. Masironi said government response to WHO's smoking control campaign has been "ambivalent" in developing countries, and noted that for most of them, tobacco growing and taxes on tobacco and producers and distributors are a major source of revenue.

One owner offered the excuse that he had never received the official notice. Mr. Martins confirmed the claim, saying that she had fled out a back door when the summons-bearer appeared.

A second owner, head of a major banking family, pointed out that he had recently been offered \$14.9 million for the land on which the mansion had stood.

Mr. Martins is sympathetic to these arguments, though he called the owners' tactics vandalism. He said he had sent out the 30-day notices to gain time to come up with a new law that would offer some realistic compensation to the owners.

A volunteer panel of lawyers and architects is now drawing up the new measure. They plan to incorporate elements of legislation from the United States, Canada and, principally, France that would provide government subsidies for restoration, reduce or waive real estate taxes and reward cooperating owners with development acreage elsewhere.

In a debate occasioned by the controversy, all but one of the speakers agreed that there had to be indemnification for the owners. Walter Czeviva, an attorney, said: "The constitutional guarantees of private property are violated by noncompensated preservation." The one dissenter, Jose Afonso da Silva, who is a professor of law at the University of São Paulo, said, "We can't subordinate social interests to private ones."

By Warren Hoge
New York Times Service

SAO PAULO — Owners of ornate old town houses along this city's most expensive thoroughfare have been destroying their own homes to forestall a zealous new state official's campaign to have the properties declared untouchable in the name of historic preservation.

The official, João Carlos Martins, who is one of the world's leading concert pianists, has tackled his new job as state secretary of culture with the same gusto he displays in addressing his specialty, Bach, on the keyboard.

"He has brilliance, drive and force," a review in *The New York Times* once said after a performance by Mr. Martins in New York. This and other reviewers' descriptions of Mr. Martins' artistry, "passionate subjectivity," "fireworks in all directions" — could just as aptly apply to his approach to bureaucracy.

The outspoken musician made it a goal when he took over the culture secretary in June to save some of the 31 fanciful mansions and palaces that remain tucked between the stately skyscrapers along Avenida Paulista.

Prestige Address

The 1.4-mile-long (2.2-kilometer) boulevard, envisioned by its turn-of-the-century designer as the Champs-Elysées of the New World, was once home to coffee barons and immigrants who made fortunes from Brazilian land. But today Avenida Paulista is the prestige address of banks and businesses, fetching up to \$60,000 a square foot (one-tenth of a square meter) on the real-estate market.

The state of São Paulo, which is responsible for nearly half of Brazil's gross national product, typifies the development-minded Brazilian mentality, which has little use for relics of the past. Mr. Martins, by contrast, is an admirer of antiquity.

He said, does not have people like Jacqueline Onassis, who fought to save New York's Grand Central Station, and Isaac Stern, who fought a similar battle for Carnegie Hall. "It's very difficult to have a cultural [policy] in this country with the kinds of laws we have," he said.

The current controversy began when Mr. Martins sent notices to the owners of the remaining Avenida Paulista homes saying the government was contemplating ordering their preservation. The owners were thereby barred for 30 days from altering their properties in any way.

Wave of Demolition

The immediate effect was the precise opposite of what Mr. Martins had intended. Within days, four of the homes had been irretrievably torn apart by demolition teams sent in by the owners themselves. On a subsequent night, Mr. Martins stood vigil outside another, but the wrecker simply waited to go to work until after he left at 1:30 a.m.

The town houses "look like victims of an aerial bombardment," said Modesto Carvalho, a lawyer who specializes in heritage cases. On the gate to one of the toppled estates, an anonymous critic left the one-word comment *abzurdo*, with the "S" transformed into a dollar sign.

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"The constitutional guarantees of private property are violated by noncompensated preservation."

The one dissenter, Jose Afonso da Silva, who is a professor of law at the University of São Paulo, said, "We can't subordinate social interests to private ones."

Iraqis Threaten Iranian Oil Outlet

Reuters

BEIRUT — Iraq said Sunday that it would destroy the Iranian oil terminal on Kharg Island in the Gulf if Iran continued to shell Iraqi towns and refused to make peace.

The official Iraqi news agency said the threat of destruction of Iran's main outlet for oil exports was the second stage of an Iraqi warning to Iran. The first stage was to threaten to bomb any foreign ship that tried to dock there.

Iraq says Iran is incapable of carrying out its threats and denies an Iraqi report that it bombed the terminal Wednesday.

Murdock Pemberton
NEW YORK (NYT) — Murdock Pemberton, 94, the first art critic for *The New Yorker* magazine, died in his sleep Wednesday night.

He wrote art criticism for *The New Yorker* for seven years, beginning in June 1925, when the magazine was founded. He returned to the magazine again in 1950.

Hillard Herbert Marks
PORTLAND, Ore. (AP) — Hillard Herbert Marks, 69, an Emmy Award-winning writer and producer, died Thursday of heart disease.

Mr. Marks worked with Jack Benny, his brother-in-law, for 37 years and is credited with writing some of the comedian's best-known lines and his comic misery attitude and insistence that he was still 39 years old. He began producing for Mr. Benny in 1946 and won an Emmy in 1958 as producer of *Plant Blast in Japan Kills 4*.

Herbert (Fritz) Crisler
ANN ARBOR, Mich. (UPI) — Herbert (Fritz) Crisler, 83, who invented the platoon system for football teams and was the college football coach with the 17th best record, died Thursday.

As football coach at Minnesota,

George D. Woods

giving poor countries freer access to loans. For the first time, the bank also made loans in such areas as agriculture and education.

Mr. Woods had a longstanding love of the New York theater. He was a backer of Broadway productions, and some of them, "Death End" and "Sailor Beware," became hits. He had also been a director of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York City and chairman of the board of the Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center.

George David Woods
The son of a naval shipyard worker, was born in Boston on July 27, 1901. He spent his boyhood in Brooklyn, N.Y. After the death of his father, he with only a diploma from Brooklyn Commercial High School, Mr. Woods set out for a career on Wall Street at the age of 17. He started as an office boy in the firm of Harris, Forbes & Co.

The banking upheaval of the 1930s saw his firm transformed into the First Boston Corp., a leading investment-banking house. He became chairman of the board of First Boston in 1951.

President John F. Kennedy nominated Mr. Woods to president of the World Bank in 1962. Mr. Woods succeeded a native of

International Bond Prices — Week of Aug. 19

Provided by White Weld Securities, London, Tel.: 623 1277; a Division of Financière Credit Suisse - First Boston

RECENT ISSUES

Amt	Security	Shr	Conv	Issue Pr.	Min Pr.	Yield	Yield	Amtd	Middle	Price	Min Life	Cur	Yield	Amtd	Security	Shr	Conv	Issue Pr.	Min Pr.	Yield	Yield	Amtd	Middle	Price	Min Life	Cur	Yield
\$100	Deutsche Bank Fin	100		100 3/4	100	12.07		1144	95 Oct	102 1/2	114.14	11.95		1190	Total Oil Marine	100		100 3/4	100	12.07		1144	95 Oct	102 1/2	114.14	11.95	
100	Deutsche Bank Fin	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Nov	102 1/2	114.12	11.93		1191	Deutsche Bank	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Nov	102 1/2	114.12	11.93	
100	Deutsche Bank Fin	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Dec	102 1/2	114.12	11.93		1192	Deutsche Bank	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Dec	102 1/2	114.12	11.93	
100	Deutsche Bank Fin	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Jan	102 1/2	114.12	11.93		1193	Deutsche Bank	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Jan	102 1/2	114.12	11.93	
100	Deutsche Bank Fin	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Feb	102 1/2	114.12	11.93		1194	Deutsche Bank	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Feb	102 1/2	114.12	11.93	
100	Deutsche Bank Fin	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Mar	102 1/2	114.12	11.93		1195	Deutsche Bank	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Mar	102 1/2	114.12	11.93	
100	Deutsche Bank Fin	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Apr	102 1/2	114.12	11.93		1196	Deutsche Bank	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Apr	102 1/2	114.12	11.93	
100	Deutsche Bank Fin	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 May	102 1/2	114.12	11.93		1197	Deutsche Bank	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 May	102 1/2	114.12	11.93	
100	Deutsche Bank Fin	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Jun	102 1/2	114.12	11.93		1198	Deutsche Bank	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Jun	102 1/2	114.12	11.93	
100	Deutsche Bank Fin	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Jul	102 1/2	114.12	11.93		1199	Deutsche Bank	100		100 3/4	100	12.05		1144	95 Jul	102 1/2	114.12	11.93	
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U.S. Outlines Aid Package for Mexico

New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — The U.S. government has outlined a multi-billion-dollar package of aid to help Mexico ride out its worst financial crisis in memory and make good on its huge debts to foreign banks.

The package includes \$1.5 billion of loans by foreign central banks, expected to become available next week, direct loans by the U.S. government in the form of prepayments for Mexican crude oil and up to \$1 billion of guarantees by Washington of new loans by U.S. commercial banks.

In addition, up to \$4.5 billion of credits from the International Monetary Fund are expected by mid-October, according to an announcement by the Treasury Department.

A news briefing Friday by the Treasury's deputy secretary, Rich-

ard T. McNamara, marked the first public acknowledgement by Washington of efforts under way for several weeks to help Mexico mobilize the hard currencies it will need to meet its heavy near-term debt obligations.

It is due to repay \$20 billion in principal this year on foreign debt of \$81 billion. An estimated \$18 billion to \$34 billion of the total is owed to U.S. banks.

The U.S. efforts, which are continuing, included three days of unannounced negotiations in Washington the weekend before last between Mexico's finance minister, Jesus Silva Herzog, and top Treasury and Federal Reserve officials.

The talks culminated in an all-night session that ended last Monday morning, a day before Mexico announced it would re-open its foreign exchange markets.

In New York, Mexican officials

met Friday with representatives of more than 100 banks from around the world and sought postponement for 90 days of \$10 billion in principal. The Mexicans also sought an additional \$1 billion in bank credit.

Outcome Questioned

Mr. Silva Herzog said after the meeting that the bankers had agreed to the requests, but some bankers who attended the meeting said this had not been the case.

If Mexico were to fail to obtain the funds it needs the consequences for the international banking system could be grave, according to banking analysts.

Some of the major U.S. banks have made loans to Mexico equivalent to up to 90 percent of their equity, which usually represents about 4 percent of their total resources.

Mr. McNamara disclosed that Mexico had agreed to increase its crude oil exports to the United States and to charge no more than \$35 a barrel even if world prices climb higher. The United States, so far as is known, never before has been able to obtain such promises from an important oil exporter.

Mexico has also agreed to make all of the additional crude exports from its so-called Isthmus oil reserves, a lighter and more valuable crude oil than the Maya crude it also produces.

The Mexican light crude is currently priced at \$32.50 a barrel, while Maya is \$25.

The United States has been eager for years to increase its access to Mexican crude oil in order to diminish U.S. dependence on Saudi Arabia and other Eastern Hemisphere producers, but Mexico has followed a cautious policy of slow increases in oil development.

Increased Mexican production also should serve as a moderating force on world oil prices, another U.S. policy objective.

Minimum Price Guaranteed

As part of the new agreement, Washington agreed to pay Mexico \$25 a barrel even if world prices fall lower.

Mr. McNamara said that Mexico undertook to increase its exports to the United States, in stages, from the current 50,000 barrels a day to 190,000 barrels a day by the summer of 1983.

The U.S. government will use the additional oil for a faster buildup of its strategic oil reserve, a protection against future disruptions of foreign supplies.

Friends and acquaintances say that he is a scrupulously honest man and that this quality soon brought him into conflict with labor leaders and politicians who owned construction companies bidding for contracts.

Survived Attacks

Somehow, he survived his post for five years, under constant attack and even public criticism on two occasions by President Luis Echeverria Alvarez for failing to appease powerful labor groups.

When the Echeverria administration ended in 1976, Mr. Silva Herzog was to use a Mexican political credit, which his immediate boss was Mr. de la Madrid, at that time undersecretary of finance.

Mr. de la Madrid had succeeded Mr. Silva Herzog in the public credit post eight years earlier and the two men had remained close friends.

After a Cabinet shake-up in 1978, however, he returned to his old job as director-general of public credit, where his immediate boss was Mr. de la Madrid, at that time undersecretary of finance.

Mr. de la Madrid had succeeded

Mr. Silva Herzog in the public credit post eight years earlier and the two men had remained close friends.

Politics, in fact, has filled his life from childhood. His 30-year-old father, also Jesus, was a leading intellectual and politician in post-revolutionary Mexico.

Since going blind almost 40 years ago, his father has written a series of major works of political history that have made him an institution in contemporary Mexico.

The young Jesus lived in the shadow of his famous father for many years. Yet, childhood friends say, he was always self-assured, and he struck out on his own career.

He studied economics at the National Autonomous University in



Jesus Silva Herzog

him indispensable to the new administration.

An outgoing man with a witty turn of phrase and a ready laugh, Mr. Silva Herzog, who was born in Mexico City, speaks fluent English and studied at Yale University in the early 1960s.

He then instituted an austerity program that had begun to reduce the country's balance of payments deficit and restore confidence in the peso when rising domestic priorities provoked a new devaluation and led bankers to demand repayment of short-term loans.

That put Mr. Silva Herzog in the unpleasant position of presiding over the introduction of partial exchange controls and appealing to the International Monetary Fund for help.

Career in Balance

Today Mr. Silva Herzog's political career is in the balance. Until just three weeks ago, most bankers expected him to retain his job after President Jose Lopez Portillo is succeeded on Dec. 1 by the president-elect, Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado.

Now some feel he will have to be replaced, if only as a symbolic gesture signaling that past economic policies have been buried. Others, though, argue that his successful handling of the crisis would make

Mexico City before he received a Master's Degree in Economics from Yale.

Even before completing his studies, he began work as an economist at the Bank of Mexico, the country's central bank, and remained there until he was appointed director-general of public credit in the Finance Ministry in 1970. It was in this post that he first became known to the international banking community.

Two years later, he was appointed to head the government's new Workers' Housing Institute and found himself embroiled in politics for the first time.

Friends and acquaintances say that he is a scrupulously honest man and that this quality soon brought him into conflict with labor leaders and politicians who owned construction companies bidding for contracts.

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He studied economics at the National Autonomous University in

AEG: Symbol of German Fragility

(Continued from Page 7)
cisions. AEG bought a string of small companies that made household appliances, just before the domestic market became saturated, and the companies lost their profitability.

The company then turned toward nuclear energy and computers, but its capital and technology proved insufficient.

The company withdrew from the computer venture after selling just 23 computers, 10 to itself and 13 to the government, and sold its half-interest in Kraftwerk Union, the nuclear energy business, to Siemens at a \$674-million loss.

AEG's losses began to mount at a time when Japan's powerful electric companies, after successfully invading the U.S. market, turned their eyes to Europe.

There were also financial mistakes. As costs mounted, top executives approved the use of pension reserves to ease the company's liquidity squeeze, creating a \$790-million deficit in the pension fund that remains unpaid.

Disputes over the best direction of the company's rapid expansion created turmoil in the upper echelons of AEG management. Between 1961 and 1970, AEG had five chief executives.

While AEG's sales growth was steady, profits lagged. More steadily, expansion costs cut deeply into the capital base.

AEG reported profit in the last fiscal year of \$10.6 million on consolidated sales of \$6.8 billion, after a loss of \$153 million in the fiscal year 1980.

But analysts said the profit was achieved only by the sale of \$200 million of plants and property, and by convincing the banks to agree to waive some debt claims. Without those measures, they said, the net loss would have been about \$278 million.

When Mr. Dürre took over, he believed the only way to save AEG would be, in effect, to dismantle the company, eliminating its less profitable divisions, and bringing others into joint ventures with partners that had the technology and capital to help make them profitable again.

Plan Party Successful

Mr. Dürre's plans have succeeded to some extent.

AEG's telecommunications division was brought into a joint venture with Robert Bosch, an electrical company, and Mannesmann, the steel products group; Grundig has agreed to cooperate in production and marketing of consumer electronics products with Telefunken, the ailing consumer electronics division of the AEG group, and AEG recently concluded an agreement with United Technologies Corp. of the United States to manufacture and market microprocessor chips.

All of the joint agreements are to be excluded from AEG's composition proceedings.

The decision has cast doubt, bankers said, on the seriousness of AEG's commitment to rebuild the company.

Negotiations had been held with Britain's General Electric Co., but analysts said the talks were ultimately topped by a coalition of West German executives from AEG's competitions in the electrical industry: Bosch, Mannesmann and Siemens.

The course of AEG's future depends now on whether Mr. Dürre can succeed in his efforts to cut the company's debt burden.

Gold Options (prices in \$/oz.)

Valence White Weld S.A.

1, Quai du Mont-Blanc

1211 Geneva 1, Switzerland

Tel. 31 02 51 - Telex 26 306

Gold 29/03/82/83

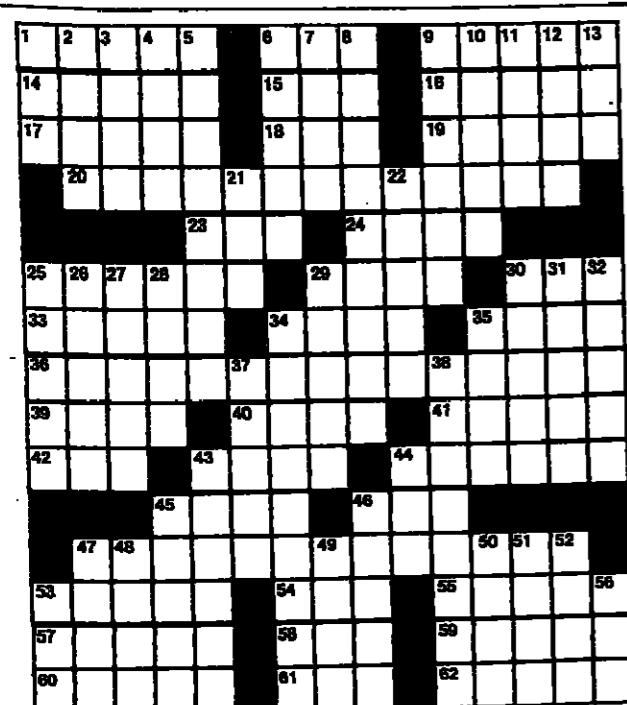
Over-the-Counter

NEW YORK (AP)—Weekly Over the Counter stocks giving the high, low, and last bid/ask for the week with the net change from the previous week's last bid/ask. All quotations are made by the National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc. and are not actual transactions but are representative of prices of which these securities could have been traded. Prices do not include retail markups, markdowns or commissions.

Sales supplied by NASD.

	Sales in 100s High Low Last Chg						Sales in 100s High Low Last Chg						Sales in 100s High Low Last Chg						Sales in 100s High Low Last Chg							
AutoMkt.10s	42	55	50	52	52	52	328	16	154	154	154	154	328	16	74	74	74	74	328	16	254	254	254	254	328	16
AutoMed.10s	125	135	125	135	135	135	125	12	125	125	125	125	125	12	125	12	125	12	125	12	125	12	125	12	125	12
Auston.15s	229	239	229	239	239	239	229	12	229	229	229	229	229	12	229	12	229	12	229	12	229	12	229	12	229	12
Avatar	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Average	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	12	35	35	35	35	35	12	35	12	35	12	35	12	35	12	35	12	35	12
BBDO.10s	152	162	152	162	162	162	152	12	152	152	152	152	152	12	152	12	152	12	152	12	152	12	152	12	152	12
BIVCH.10	125	135	125	135	135	135	125	12	125	125	125	125	125	12	125	12	125	12	125	12	125	12	125	12	125	12
BNIC.10s	74	74	74	74	74	74	74	12	74	74	74	74	74	12	74	12	74	12	74	12	74	12	74	12	74	12
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BonCo.10s	125	135	125	135	135	135	125	12	125	125	125	125	125	12												

CROSSWORD



ACROSS
 1 Pod used for fodder
 6 End of the seventh century
 9 Ghost
 14 — and kicking
 15 Sis, boom, bah's kin
 16 Type of discussion
 17 Bellow offering
 18 — snit (peevish)
 19 Serfs
 20 Deserted the party
 22 Future fish
 24 Admire
 25 Furniture material
 29 Spectacles supports
 30 About 3,000 miles from EST
 33 Not silently
 34 Comic Johnson
 35 "O patria mia" is one
 36 Noncommittal politicians
 39 Boer migration

40 Collar or jacket
 41 Lets up
 42 Counterparts of aces
 43 Dock
 44 Calif. city
 45 T.V.A. locale
 46 A.F.L. partner
 47 What demagogues speak with
 53 TV cousin
 54 Sofa extremity
 55 Efficacy
 57 Emulate
 58 Jessica
 59 Born
 60 Seed covering
 61 Ventures
 62 Horner or Sprat

DOWN
 1 Is able
 2 "Thanks —!"
 3 Split
 4 Done
 5 Off-besieged city in Europe
 6 Riverside, e.g.
 7 Birch

WEATHER

	HIGH	LOW	C	F	HIGH	LOW	C	F
ALGARVE	25	77	77	63	Fair	LOS ANGELES	C	F
ALGIERS	40	104	104	84	Cloudy	MADRID	35	71
AMSTERDAM	17	63	14	57	Overcast	MARINA	34	72
ANKARA	31	88	11	52	Fair	MONTREAL	32	71
ATHENS	15	59	10	45	Fair	MIAMI	32	71
AUCKLAND	34	93	26	79	Overcast	MILAN	34	75
BANGKOK	22	79	16	57	Fair	MOSCOW	35	75
BEIRUT	24	75	14	57	Shows	MUNICH	18	64
BELGRADE	19	64	12	57	Fair	MURMANSK	22	72
BOSTON	19	64	12	57	Fair	NESSAU	22	61
BREMEN	19	64	12	57	Fair	NEW DELHI	22	61
BUCHAREST	20	84	18	57	Fair	NEW YORK	22	61
BUDAPEST	21	79	14	57	Fair	NICHI	18	44
Buenos Aires	17	62	12	57	Rain	OSLO	18	44
CAIRO	22	79	22	72	Rain	PARIS	18	44
CAPETOWN	27	81	9	45	Cloudy	PEKING	21	55
CASABLANCA	27	81	19	45	Overcast	PRAGUE	19	44
CHICAGO	27	81	15	55	Cloudy	REYKJAVIK	17	52
COPENHAGEN	24	81	13	55	Cloudy	RIO DE JANEIRO	21	61
COSTA DEL SOL	24	81	13	55	Cloudy	ROME	20	61
DAKAR	24	81	17	43	Fair	SAO PAULO	29	74
DUBLIN	19	64	13	55	Overcast	SINGAPORE	24	92
EDINBURGH	16	61	12	54	Rain	STOCKHOLM	24	92
FLORENCE	26	79	16	61	Fair	TAIPEI	23	72
FRANKFURT	19	64	12	57	Fair	TOKYO	21	55
GENEVA	16	64	14	57	Fair	TUNIS	23	73
HELSINKI	17	65	19	43	Cloudy	VENICE	23	73
HONG KONG	30	95	24	75	Fair	VIECHEN	19	44
HOUSTON	21	84	17	43	Fair	WARSAW	21	61
ISTANBUL	22	81	20	69	Cloudy	WASHINGTON	27	81
JERUSALEM	23	81	17	43	Fair	ZURICH	18	64
LAS PALMAS	19	64	12	54	Fair			
LIMA	19	64	12	54	Fair			
LISBON	23	73	15	61	Overcast			
LONDON	18	64	12	55	Overcast			

Readings from the previous 24 hours.

THE FRONT PAGE

The International Herald Tribune

1887-1980



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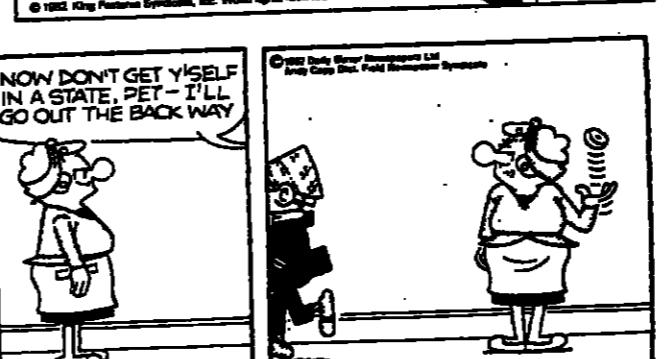
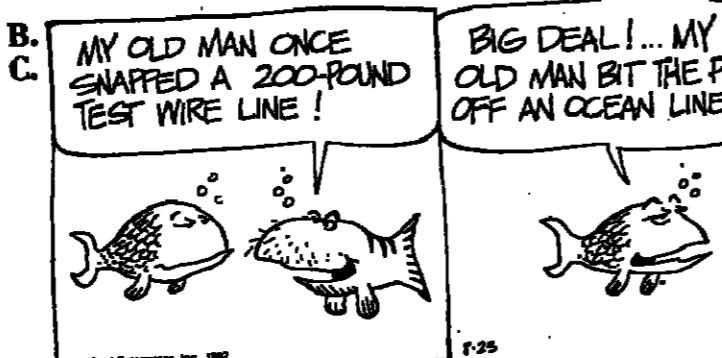
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Print answer here:

(Answers tomorrow)

Saturday's Jumble: GRIMY WHEAT SADIST WEAPON

Answer: What the secretive mummies kept—THINGS UNDER WRAPS

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.

BOOKS

AMERICA IN THE '20S: A History

By Geoffrey Perret. 585 pp. \$20.95.

Simon & Schuster, 1230 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020

Reviewed by Michiko Kakutani

IN retrospect, we tend to idealize our history, arranging it into neat decades, each personified by an event or labeled with a pithy epithet. If the 1930s are nearly synonymous with the Great Depression, the '40s bring to mind World War II and the '60s Vietnam and social revolution. The '50s remain the era of the Silent Generation, just as the '70s will be remembered as the 'Me Decade.'

Glamorous, hectic and endlessly commemorated by its writers and its poets, the '20s, however, retain perhaps the most vigorous hold over our collective imagination and we recall the Jazz Age with heightened nostalgia as a time of flappers and expatriates, get-rich-quick schemes and land swindles, romance and disillusion. It is the subject of Geoffrey Perret's new history published by Simon & Schuster.

Like William Manchester's "The Glory and the Dream" and Frederick Lewis Allen's "Only Yesterday," Perret's book is an informal, narrative history that achieves fluency through its conversational style and densely detailed text. Although the book owes a heavy debt in both style and substance to Allen's celebrated history of the '20s—both illuminate such events as the Scopes trial and the Sacco and Vanzetti case through anecdotes and character sketches, both display a "Ragtime"-esque penchant for mingling the famous and unknown—Perret claims to have drawn on "reliable studies of the country's art, health, education, sex life and cities" made available since "Only Yesterday" appeared in 1931.

In an effort to balance what he sees as Allen's undue focus on "odd or exotic behavior," he has also paid less attention to the antics of the wealthy playboys and more to the daily concerns of the populace at large—an approach that makes for a more judicious, if less lively, book.

As Perret sees it, the '20s were an uneasy postwar decade of transition, a sort of belated twilight zone between the 19th and 20th centuries. The war not only brought Americans into contact with foreign ideas and international responsibilities for the first time, but it created cultural reverberations as surely as the frontier had.

The simple experience of the American Expeditionary Force in Europe, Perret writes, "made it acceptable for a man to smoke cigarettes instead of cigars or a pipe; to wear a wristwatch

Solution to Friday's Puzzle

COLD	GAMES	CAFFE
ALOE	IGAVE	ULLI
LEO	GILET	ARAL
MONOPOLY	ANAME	TILE BANGLES
CASINO	DARTS	ESTO TUTTI BUT
ESTO	SHIRES	CHIMES CHECKERS
IER	COPTS	IER COPTS INGA
OLDMAID	PEND	ALLIS SUNDER
BEAST	DOMINOES	OLDMAID PEND
IDLIE	KHAKI	BEAST DOMINOES
TUAN	GENET	IDLIE KHAKI EVEN
SPIT	SARI	TUAN GENET SARI
	BLARE	SPIT BLARE SLOP

Michiko Kakutani is on the staff of The New York Times.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

preserved were now sure to take the setting trick.

In the replay, Pender played the same contract from the north position and succeeded against slightly less careful defense.

WEST
4Q853
V
2Q187
4Q785

EAST
49752
V08742
Q18
4984

SOUTH
6K
VAK53
4AK53
183

Neither side was vulnerable. The bidding:
South: 2-0
10-4
4-4
West: 2-0
Pass
North: 2-0
Pass
East: 2-0
Pass
Pass

SPORTS

Texas A & M's Sherrill Begins Term as Coach, Image-MakerBy Peter Alfano
New York Times Service

COLLEGE STATION, Texas — Jackie Sherrill has spent the last seven months making the rounds of Texas like a candidate campaigning for office. He has shuttled from downtown to metropolis and back, sometimes flying his own propeller-driven airplane as if he were a cross-duster covering the state with his views.

But Sherrill won the election last January.

He knows about the letters, nearly 300 of them that were received by the Former Students Association, letters that questioned Texas A&M's priorities when it hired him as head football coach and athletic director for an annual salary of \$287,000.

Sherrill also read about the objections voiced by several university presidents across the country, and by football coaches, some of whom earn big salaries themselves.

So he decided to confront the issue rather than hope it would slowly die.

Sherrill has made nearly 40 trips throughout the state, speaking to Texas A&M alumni clubs. His position paper stresses the university's academic achievements and the necessity for an athlete to get an education.

He even talks a little about the football team, a subject that takes on added importance as fall practice begins.

Doubts Dispelled

All the miles of traveling and meetings with alumni groups have paid off.

Sherrill has dispelled the doubts of the skeptics who thought he was hired to win games at any cost. He has allayed their fears about the danger of overemphasizing football at the expense of academics. More importantly, he has convinced them that he is worth every nickel of his salary.

"Coaching has changed," Sherrill said. "Twenty years ago, the coach never left the campus. Now, I balance the budget, market the product, do promotions, handle personnel, sell the program, recruit and coach. Like it or not, it's a different type of business now."

He has also become an image-maker, perhaps the best salesman A&M has ever had. Sherrill is 38, a man with neatly styled hair and a conservative manner.

Dressed in a gray suit, he looks more like a corporate executive than a football coach. This is the image that may help to erase the popular stereotype of the Aggie.

Those who live in Texas and other parts of the Southwest envision Texas A&M as a university attended by farm boys who wear overalls and whistle wood between classes.

"The university started as an agricultural school," said Charlie Thornton, the associate athletic director, "and people thought of students here as guys who drove pickups and had dirt under their nails. Plus, it was a military school and had an all-male enrollment."

When Sherrill left the University of Pittsburgh to take the A&M job, some there joked that airplanes landing in College Station were equipped with sweepers in order to clear the cows off the runway.

But it is not like that. College Station and neighboring Bryan are one of the country's fastest-growing areas, the combined population exceeding 100,000.

Texas A&M reports that it is also the fastest-growing university in the country. Approximately 37,000 students — almost 14,000 of them women — will enroll this fall. A&M became coeducational in 1971.

And these so-called farm boys have money. The university raised \$24.4 million last year from among its alumni, as well as from industry and foundations.

But the stereotype persists. When Sherrill was hired, it looked as if Texas A&M had decided that upgrading football was more important than raising its academic standing.

There was speculation that influential alumni were paying Sherrill's way or, worse yet, that part of

his salary would come from taxpayer money allocated by the state for the improvement of academic facilities.

"My salary is coming out of ticket sales," Sherrill said. "And I work for the president of the university, not the president of the booster club." People said Texas A&M was off its rocker and losing its credibility in academics, but when the board of regents meets here, they don't talk about athletes.

Aggressive Recruiters

"Texas A&M is a competitive university," said Dr. C.S. Giam, a professor of chemistry and oceanography at Texas A&M who has served on two National Academy of Sciences committees, done joint research with the Soviet Union and is listed in "Who's Who in America."

"If someone who is good in his field becomes available and fits into our program, of course we go after him," Giam said.

As Giam implies, Sherrill is one of the best and the brightest. He has received a number of coaching offers during his five years at Pitt. But bright young coaches are often portrayed as mercenaries, chasing the dollar from one school to another for a new challenge.

Although 1982 will be his first season at Texas A&M, Sherrill has already been rumored as a candidate for a head coaching job in the National Football League as well as being among Bear Bryant's choices at the next coach at Alabama, where he played for Bryant.

But Sherrill notes that faculty members, as well as people in private industry, also often pursue better-paying jobs.

In order to show the administration that he intends to honor his six-year contract, Sherrill said, he added a clause stating that he cannot take another job.

"And I think Jackie is smart enough not to be the guy who follows Coach Bryant," said Charlie Thornton, Bryant's administrative assistant.

Sherrill also scored points with the Texas A&M faculty when he sent each member a letter that reaffirmed his commitment to academics. He has set up two committees to screen recruits and to determine eligibility. He has two academic advisers working with the athletes.

"I have a responsibility to this institution, its former students, players and coaches," he said. "I don't think college athletics is tearing down academics."

"We have problems, but there are problems in academics, too. Not every player can be an All-American, and not everyone can be Phi Beta Kappa."

He speaks softly and deliberately. Sherrill has had to measure his words since last January. He says the controversy over his salary has not affected him, but the effort he has made to reach out to the alumni and faculty seems to indicate otherwise.

The irony is that, although he has become the highest-paid college coach in the country, he did not always aspire to coaching.

"It's never been an obsession with me," he said. "So I've never felt the pressure that some guys have. But when I did start coaching in 1967, when I was 24, I told myself that if I wasn't a head coach by the time I was 31, I'd get out of it."

Big City Tastes
He was a graduate assistant at Alabama in 1964 before moving on to become an assistant under Frank Broyles at Arkansas. In 1968, he joined Johnny Majors at Iowa State and followed Majors to Pittsburgh in 1973. In 1976, only two years past his timetable, he became head coach at Washington State. He left a year later to become head coach at Pitt.

Sherrill was born in rural Oklahoma and reared in Mississippi, but he enjoyed living in a big city. He made contacts with corporate leaders and identified with them.

"They're in a pressure-packed business, too," he said. "And they compete hard. When they close a big deal and make money, they don't brag about it. When a deal falls through, they don't say anything either."

"It's like coaching — you don't make excuses. Bragging rights are for the fans and the stockholders."

But there is a difference. Sherrill's successes and failures are public knowledge. He will be expected to produce in a hurry, especially because of his salary. "I've won before," he said. "That's no problem."

"I would have stayed at Pitt if I was insecure."

"But I don't want any outside interference. One of the reasons I took this job was because it includ-

Transactions

BASEBALL

American League

BOSTON—Called up Brian Dawson, pitcher, from Pawtucket of the International League, and optioned Bob Chacko, pitcher, on the 21-day disabled list.

TORONTO—Activated Wayne Nordhagen, disabled hitting-outfielder, and optioned Jerry Gossage, pitcher, to Syracuse of the International League.

National League

NEW YORK—Recalled John Steiner, catcher, on the 15-day disabled list, and optioned Bruce Beck, catcher, from Tidewater of the International League.

National Football League

CINCINNATI—Traded Don Bass, wide receiver, to New Orleans for an undesignated 1983 draft pick.

N.Y. JETS—Cut Tim Hollings, wide receiver.

N.Y. GIANTS—Cut Bob Nitzoles and Ken Dunek, both ends. Promoted Scott Phillips, wide receiver, to the injured reserve list.

FOOTBALL

International Football League

NEW YORK—Recalled John Stevens, catcher, on the 15-day disabled list, and optioned Bruce Beck, catcher, from Tidewater of the International League.

Basketball

International Basketball Federation

N.Y. JETS—Cut Tim Hollings, wide receiver.

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LANGUAGE

Diplomatic Optimism

By William Safire

NEW YORK — Asked about the prospects for peace in Lebanon, President Reagan told a news conference he was "optimistic." The next day, the unseen administration official whose job it is to bring the president's vocabulary into sharper focus told The New York Times that "the president should have said he was 'hopeful' rather than 'optimistic.'"

Evidently, the cleanup official felt that the president had gone too far by saying he was "optimistic," and that "hopeful" was a more generalized and weaker locution. In this diplomatic, you can be hopeful for anything, but you must have some reason to be optimistic. When Al Haig was carrying the negotiating ball between the Brits and Argies, he found refuge in the comment "I'm always hopeful." That was supposed to mean, "Don't blame me if this doesn't work out"; the word carried the diplomatic connotation of unfounded optimism.

Such usage turns the standard synonym on its head. According to Webster's New Dictionary of Synonyms, hopeful "usually implies some ground, and often reasonably good grounds, for one's having hope" and "suggests confidence in which there is little or no self-deception." Optimistic, on the other hand, "implies a temperamental confidence that all will turn out for the best" and even "willfulness to be guided by illusions rather than by facts."

Thus, the president was right, and his official corrector was wrong. Perhaps diplomats should take as a mnemonic Rodgers and Hammerstein's "The Cockeyed Optimist"; optimism is an upbeat way of looking at life and not a calibration of cheerfulness based upon fact. Hopeful is the word with the built-in foundation.

A third synonym may come into greater use: sanguine, which implies a greater measure of optimism than confident, and more confidence than either hopeful or optimistic. The only trouble with sanguine is that it is rooted in "bloody," and that's not the best image to use in comments about peace.

A newer word, upbeat, was

tossed in casually above. Upbeat is general cheerfulness, derived from the upward stroke of a conductor's baton, indicating an unaccented beat, usually at the end of a bar. (That etymology is uncertain, since a downbeat usually starts the music; possibly the up comes from the upturned corners of the lips in a smile, and the down from the opposite in a glum look.) Upbeat is informal usage, on the way from slang to standard, and means cheerful or even happy, the most exuberant forms of optimism.

WHEN Susan Mercandetti, producer of ABC's "Nightline," nabbed futurist Herman Kahn as a guest, the following interchange was not unworthy of notice:

Ted Koppel: "And a final quote: 'We must have a credible first-strike capability.' Dr. Kahn, would you still hold to that view?"

Herman Kahn: "I think the exact term was not incredible, and there's a distinct difference. You really can't achieve a capability which looks like it would be used, but you can achieve a capability which the other side cannot feel will not be used if he's too provocative. And the term 'not incredible' really carries an extraordinary amount of weight."

Koppel: "There is a potential on this program tonight for us to drown in double negatives. I wonder if you could put that into a straightforward sentence, Professor Kahn."

Kahn: "Absolutely not. The attempt to put these in straightforward sentences simply confuses. Take the concept of 'not probable.' 'Not probable' is, say, less than 0.1. 'Improbable' is less than 0.1. Therefore, 'not improbable' is quite different from 'probable.' It's called a taut, and it's a perfectly legitimate grammatical construction."

Herman Kahn is, absolutely right, almost Lito, pronounced LIGHT-uh-tease, is a Greek word that has come to mean "understatement for effect."

Kahn's mistaken use of "lito" was unthinking, which is excusable for the author of "Thinking About the Unthinkable"; the word always ends with an S, whether singular or plural; you cannot correctly say "lito" any more than you can properly say "kudo" — only if it has the S is it correct, which is better than "not incorrect."

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